/114 cont./

361 with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes
342 one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a
361 year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

361 The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the
[162] largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller.
484 In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, be-
361 cause this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours
[487] for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

342 For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as
312 close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk.
[514] It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

591 In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother,
[594] and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go
[342] on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have
[476] saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the ečˇ or gélyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
[461] therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátsˇínda) are erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/128 cont./

those of the colonists in Tierradentro. In the territory of the latter there is almost no forest anywhere; all the slopes have been deforested and artificially, but not through excessive agricultural cultivation, made into pasture areas for the livestock of the colonists or large landowners. This has upset the natural water economy of the region. The water flowing off unchecked during the rainy season washes away the humus earth and forms deep gullies on the slopes. The soil thus eroded is infertile. The mountain slopes dry out completely during the dry seasons, so that dwellings can only rarely be built in the higher locations because of the lack of water. In the areas used solely by the natives, in which a natural alternation of cultivated and fallow land is observed, there are countless channels and small brooks that make it possible to put a house near running water at almost every spot on the landscape.

Every task of the Paez that is connected with the fields, be it clearing, sowing, or harvesting, is done extraordinarily willingly by all participants, "because it is for food." There is simply no such thing as anyone unwilling to work in the fields. The soil is not very fertile, since the major part of the mountains in the region of Calderas consists of slate which often stands out bare and on the slopes is covered with a layer of humus or loam only 20 to 50 centimeters deep on the average. In the valley the humus layer is often more than a meter deep. The abundant land available, however, does not make the utmost utilization imperative. And although the numerous mountain brooks are diverted in such a way that every house has its running water, nevertheless there is no acute inducement for irrigation or terraced cultivation, nor does the use of them seem to be known.

Maize occupies the major part of the cultivated area, closely followed by sugar cane, the raw product for the manufacture of chicha. Both constitute the basic production of agriculture, and there is no Paez family that does not cultivate sugar cane and maize on its land. The size of the cultivated areas cleared by burning varies. The smallest fields that we saw

/128 cont./

241 were only ten by ten meters /129/ square, whereas the largest continuous field occupied an area of about 500 by 250 meters. I was assured, however, that such a large area of land was not required for one family and that the owner would use this large [433] cleared field only little by little for planting. A family can live, so I was told, from a field that measures about 100 by 100 meters, [244] which corresponds to the area of one hectare. In addition, every house has a vegetable garden of about 1,000 square meters in area for the planting of vegetable bananas /cooking bananas/, cabbage, beans, cucumbers, and onions.

241 The clearing of the fields, like the sowing, is done only ● 476 by men, whereas the harvest may be gathered by women or men. 464 Several men always participate in the clearing and sowing; one [462] man never works alone. At the very least his brothers or sons help him. Otherwise he must ask friends who must be served food and chicha during the work, and whom he likewise helps in 241 a similar instance. On the field intended for planting, first the thinner trees at a height of about one to one and a half meters are cut down with the machete and left lying on the ground as they fall. With this the first part of the work is done, and one has two to four weeks' rest until the felled young trees and branches are dry, but not dried up. Then the men go out into the field again and light the wood, but only the thinner branches of less than an arm's thickness are consumed. This burning takes a few days, and it is not infrequent that a woman helps her husband on the last day in order to burn up the remaining wood. The Paez, [515] by the way, give this handling of the sooty trunks as the only time that they get dirty and must wash their hands afterwards (Ills. 169 to 171 /see pp.275 -276/).

241 The fence which each field must have for protection 417 against the freely roaming domestic animals is built out of the unburned branches and tree trunks. For this purpose rather thick poles are rammed vertically into the ground, and the remaining branches and tree trunks piled up horizonatally to a height of a good meter. In order to climb over this fence one puts a notched tree trunk against it on both sides as a ladder (aff) (Ill. 168 /see p.274/).

/139 cont./

273 No new chicha can be made without some old chicha in the kánoa. The sugar-cane juice, even if it were left standing for many days, would still be merely sweet and not produce proper fermentation. After five or seven days, however, there is a certain kind of fermentation (probably as a result of the acid content of the wood of the empty kánoa), but of very bad taste.

• [476] In case a person is planning a major piece of work for which he must ask people to come and then, of course, also entertain them properly for their labor, the sugar cane is milled the day before, and on the following day the chicha is ready and may be served. It is said that chicha drunk in any quantity does not produce discomfort of any kind or headache.

Besides the production of chicha, which is carried on by all families, each family also has in its house distilling apparatus [462] with which brandy is distilled from the day-old chicha. This distillation is commonly the work of the women while the men are in the field. It may also be undertaken, however, by men or youths. The distilling apparatus (walyíndeya) consists of three vessels, a large clay pot holding ten to 15 liters, which is two-thirds full of strong chicha, anise, a pound of dill, cloves, cinnamon, and other herbs. A second clay pot without a bottom is set on this and hermetically sealed to the upper edge of the lower chicha pot with a paste of water and wood ashes. Into the upper edge of this second pot are drilled three holes, by means of which a flat wooden plate is tied inside the pot, just below the mouth, and has cut into it on one side a groove leading to the outside through a hole in the wall of the pot and emptying into a tube. A shallow copper bowl sits, sealed airtight, on this second pot. In the distillation process the evaporated alcohol, passing through the second pot, strikes the bottom of the copper bowl. The latter is constantly filled with cold water. The alcohol vapor condensing on the underside of the copper bowl drips onto the wooden plate, flows out through the runoff tube, and is caught in bottles (Ill. 176 /see p. 278 /).

/170 cont./

491 Rather, these constructions seem to be a borrowing from the
177 Negro slaves who were brought into the region around Belalcázar
499 in very early times in order to work the gold and salt mines there. Both bridges would then be an African culture element in the Tierradentro region. They are suitable only for people. Larger animals are pulled through the river with ropes and must swim part of the way.

499 The two groups of posts on each bank -- a very modern method of bridge anchorage -- upon which the arch of the bridge hangs, are supported by a number of stakes driven into the ground farther up the bank. Bamboo poles serve as joining and holding material. The footway held from above is made with split bamboo, pounded flat. Additional bamboo tubes, secured by
● [476] lianas, form the railing. For the construction of such an arched bridge the inhabitants from the adjacent villages along both shores come together. They bury the ends of two long and strong bamboo tubes in the ground, so that their tips lean
[623] slightly toward the river. Then the gobernadores /see the glossary, p. 249/, as the heads of the town councils at the time, start climbing up the poles, which, as a result of the weight, lean toward the center of the river, until the poles touch and the two gobernadores can shake hands from either side. With one hand they then quickly tie the joined tips of the bamboo poles together by means of lianas, which is the first step in the bridge construction. It is completed by the rest of the people (from Hernandez, 1944, p. 190).

/171/

III. Society

1. Political Organization

619 The tribe of the Paez consists of the inhabitants of a number of villages of the Tierradentro region who regard themselves as belonging together because of language, clothing, habits, and
621 traditions. Their present-day political organization is based on the village community. It corresponds roughly to the original

/172 cont./

123 623 554 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning [476] his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a community project for all the men of the village in clearing a field. Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and 123 623 554 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work. 411 Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to [435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore, the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has hereto- 123 623 554 fore been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the implement, explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that the work would not take place until a few days later. He could not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before. He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not.

Everyone grants everyone else

/203 cont./

571 whatever he expects and claims for himself, quite as a matter of
829 course. This results in an entirely natural self-esteem, injury to
155 which on the part of the "blancos" is felt as very painful by the Paez.

576 Within the Paez communities the obligation of a greeting (gwéčaya) by a younger person to an older one is strictly observed. Even a "family feud" does not absolve the younger people from the respectful greeting "pétenga" (translated by "good day") toward the older people of other families, who acknowledge it with "pé'taw." Removing one's hat at the same time is not customary.

[608] A greeting by shaking hands takes place only among members of the family or with one's godfather or godmother with the salutation "ndyósta utsménga" (Godparent, how are you?), during which the hat is also removed. Contemporaries greet each other with

[521] "éwča" (how are you) and reply with "éwčataw" (I am well). Generally people chat awhile when they meet, introduce the conversation with a joke, a bit of news in the village, or perhaps merely a remark about the weather.

156 Though the Paez may be regarded basically as an individualist, this does not hold true universally. On account of the abundantly available land, it is possible for him to isolate himself and withdraw for weeks at a time to his separate farm, but
461 nonetheless the Paez does not like to drink his chicha alone. And
476 usually friends and neighbors help, not only with housebuilding or
156 clearing, but also with sowing and lesser tasks. The labor of the individual, in instances of mutual help, is merely loaned, however, since the same persons meet again for joint aid on the corresponding tasks of a neighbor. The owner in question must also make chicha and food liberally available for each task, which makes every joint task a small feast. The actual useful effects of the communal work are slight, and, as a visitor from the outside, one has the impression that the joint eating and drinking is the primary thing, interrupted at times by only brief periods of work. On sober consideration -- which no Paez, of course, undertakes -- the joint consumption in connection with a communal task is more expensive for the individual than if each person himself over a correspondingly

/203 cont./

461 longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[476] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[651] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

/208 cont./

796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced. But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants for this position than are needed. On account of the very high costs, however, no one can be fiestero more than three times in all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez. One may be albacero more often, however -- up to ten times, I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks, and the "crazy cow"). The mayordomos only join in with contributions of money to pay the priest.

The fiestero and albacero themselves do not work, but merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have [476] their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the [273] end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carrying the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of chicha to be prepared is hard work, for every fiestero wants to prepare the most chicha, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals, which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men also arrive, chicha is drunk heartily, and the musicians start play- [541] ing early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door. [788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows, a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the fiesteros, along with the cabildo and [793] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to [794] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables, and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the two fiesteros, along with their albaceros and the music, walk

/210 cont./

423 considerably larger parcels of land than others, for example, the
427 Guagáz family, who, according to my information, own almost half of all private land. Permission for the use of land is granted only for crops with a short ripening period, namely, wheat, maize, beans, and cabbage, but not sugar cane, coca, or bananas, which need several years to mature, in other words, can be used for years. As rent the owner receives a small portion of the harvest, which is left on the stalk and which he must harvest himself.

423 As a matter of principle, land cannot be bought, we were
[428] told repeatedly, for every man must leave his land to his sons. Even if a man has no sons, he may not sell his land, but must hand it over to his brothers. This was the information always
423 given in answer to my direct questions on the subject. /211/ In
437 practice, however, it is quite possible to sell land, and this is not infrequently done, but no one realizes that a land sale actually takes place when a man clears a piece of land for himself, plants it, and exchanges the entire harvest, including the land, for a
[115] head of cattle, a horse, etc. This is what Victoriano did, for example, in order to acquire a horse. He cleared and planted a piece of his father's land, about 2,500 square meters, to sugar cane, and when this was mature, he exchanged the harvest, including the land, for a mare. Nobody wanted to admit that this violated the principle of not selling land.

423 The land belongs to the father of the family, who, as a rule,
241 tills it with his grown sons. If the sons have their own houses,
59 they generally go on working with their father, since no one likes to work alone. At the harvest, the respective wives fetch the food
423 required for their families from the common field. If father and
427 son do not live in amity, the son must plant and harvest his own
59 3 field, for which he is then obliged to accept the help of friends.
241 It is considerably more expensive to entertain them than family
[476] help, for in the latter case there need not be any chicha for entertainment. Even in this instance, however, the son must ask his father and owner of the family land for permission to cultivate the land. This is not denied, however, After the harvest, this piece of land, since it will lie fallow now for about ten years, goes back

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.
105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the
[851] unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[533] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

/183 cont./

342 and blows them into the air; with a small staff called "tama"
756 he cleaves the air in such a way that sometimes he appears to
787 be frightening away the spirits, sometimes threatening them,
[823] and sometimes clubbing them. If the signs (reflex movements) are felt on the right side, the site is favorable; the opposite denotes that the site is uninhabitable. The spirits are angry,
[761] or there are Pijao bones and gold at the site. If the site has not been selected by the medicine man, even if the house is a handsome one it cannot be occupied, for its occupants would die, beginning with the children, continuing with the mother,
342 and ending with the father. The medicine man himself pro-
756 hibits people from living in a house built without the fulfillment of this requisite. The medicine man's dictum is rewarded with a bottle of aguardiente, an egg (1) of coca, tobacco, a

[804] 1. A measure of weight equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

calabash of chicha, and usually a meal with chicken. /184/
[789] This is called "care" /cuido/. When the house is finished, the medicine man will place special remedies at the ridgepole to prevent the ghosts or echi from descending by way of it or from being angered.

342 Then come the mingas /communal work-parties/. A house
476 is built with the help of others. The people are invited, including the medicine man himself, who goes to work as a laborer. The work is organized. First, they go to the woodland for wood; under the influence of the guarapo, voices resound, loud laughter is heard, and the deep sound of the "cacho" /horn/ rumbles in the montañas, multiplied by its
342 echoes. Soon they report to the man in charge. They level
335 out the ground that will serve as the house floor; they dig holes
476 in which to sink the posts approximately two meters apart, driven in solidly, and tied at the top to cross-pieces with lianas (guák); the posts outline the shape of the house, and they will

/184 cont./

342 bear its entire weight. Over this frame are placed transversally
335 the pikas, beams that go from one wall to another, to strengthen
476 the entire structure. Then the four-slope roof will be raised and covered with bundles of sugar-cane leaves (flushets) or straw (sits) which are fastened around the frame, starting at the bottom; it is completed by the ridgepiece, more massive and notched in a straight line on both sides to a depth of some 50 centimeters; at the apex, some mounds of straw are piled up at regular intervals and a cross is set in each one of them. The man in charge directs the last touches from the ground: "There is not enough straw over there; there is too much here," he notes in a commanding voice.

The walls are made with tall stalks of maize placed in a row between the posts and tied with crosswise bindings, likewise of stalks. The partitions of the interior rooms and the doors, generally one, which leads to the exterior, are made in the same way.

342 In the construction all do the same tasks, except for the
476 man in charge, who supervises. Neither the man in charge nor
465 the workers are paid anything, "it is not customary to pay among the Indians"; they are merely treated to chicha, aguardiente, a meal with meat, and coca. A calabash of chicha and a bottle of aguardiente are presented to the man in charge and shared with the helpers. When the work is done, they get drunk and dance.

342 The women do not participate directly in the /185/
462 /illustration appears here/ construction work; they cook, distribute
476 food, keep the house supplied with firewood and water, talk, and delouse and comb one another.

342 Three types of dwellings may be differentiated among the
177 Paez, in accordance with the greater or lesser introduction and acceptance of foreign architectural features, since nowadays elements of foreign origin are spreading and taking root: bahareque construction, interior division into rooms, the square

Fire is also set to the vegetation on
/306 cont./

241 the ridges, crests, and windings, where no obvious advantage
185 can be gained and where, instead, it destroys a vegetation that virtually /307/ could be turned into a barrier that would prevent the danger of the animals.

The clearings are also laid out on the banks of brooks, streams, rivers, springs, and damp hollows, which, from a lucrative standpoint, is excellent, since it is precisely there that the harvest yields the most, but it is very harmful, since it destroys the vegetation that preserves the moisture and holds the soil, thus avoiding erosion.

241 The clearing is done by all the male members of the
●476 family. But more generally the mingas /communal work-parties/ do it. In this case, the workers first cut with their machetes the grasses, branches, vines, etc., in the lower part of the forest; then, with axes and machetes, they fell the trees. It should be noted that these trees are not cut at the base, but more or less at eye level. The fallen trees are allowed to dry for approximately one month and then are burned. The thick logs remain intact, as does the brush. This is piled up, and sticks are cut to make fencing. This work is also done by mingas. First the stakes are driven in about a meter apart. Then sticks and branches are woven in. The fences are made so tight that they prevent dogs,
[417] pigs, and other animals from entering. People enter by means of a stick with notches that leans against the fence on either side. These sticks are called afa, and they are also placed at difficult spots on the paths, chiefly for crossing obstructions.

241 In Mosoco, where the lands are cleared and divided into lots, clearings do not exist. Only in the "paramo," the mountainous region, can they be observed. But the custom of leaving the land uncultivated for several years has not disap-
[824] peared. The fences are made of lechero /Euphorbia/ stakes, a tree that has the peculiarity of taking root and continuing to live. But the use of barbed wire is steadily increasing.

Planting and harvesting

[152] Planting is conditioned by the pluviometrical conditions in Tierradentro. The summer months are January, February, March, July, August, and September, and those of winter are

/307 cont./

241 April, May, June, October, November, and December. Natu-
132 rally, these periods of summer are relative and correspond in reality to the temperate zone. In Mosoco and the high parts of the Cordillera, /308/ a fine rain is falling almost constantly, if not an actual downpour. In July, August, and September, the winter is harsh, influenced entirely by the trade winds from the southeast.

Bearing these climatic factors in mind, planting is done during the months of March, April, and May. They take advantage of the rains of these months. This agricultural cycle is common for all of Tierradentro including Mosoco proper. The "páramuna" part of Mosoco is excepted, for the reasons listed earlier.

243 Of the cultivable species, maize occupies the dominant place in the agricultural activity of Tierradentro. The preparation of the soil differs somewhat in the temperate and cold thermal levels. Whereas cleaning out and burning the underbrush are sufficient in the temperate one, planting beds are made in the cold one. Maize seed is selected from the best and most filled-out ears, avoiding the small kernels at the points. They believe that they would not fruit, calling them, for this reason, "maize-man," and, on the other hand, calling the big kernels [842] that yield produce "maize-woman." They make the association that it is the women who have children, even though they do not conceive of fertility without concourse with the man.

243 It is common to have mingas for sowing. In this way the
244 work is soon finished. On the appointed day, eight to ten
● 476 laborers assemble, with bags full of maize tied at their waists;
[462] they start sowing very early. This is a masculine activity, al-
[184] though in Lame and Mosoco women also participate. The holes are made with a strong, pointed stick at intervals of one meter and 50 centimeters and to a depth of 10 to 15 centimeters. Six or seven kernels are placed in each hole. They bury the frijole next to the logs that remain from the clearing. Peas are also commonly sown there. The seeds of bottle gourds and ahuyama/ squash, /Cucurbita maxima/, which are sown in the maize fields,

/308 cont./

243 are also selected; the larger, round one is regarded as the
244 woman and the less vigorous one as the man. In the cold climates
476 they usually sow, in addition, broad beans and wheat, and in the temperate ones arracacha, manioc, plantains, and other species.

243 In three months, when the maize is man-high, weeding
476 is done. The underbrush is uprooted and left on the same ground to dry out and rot. It serves as fertilizer for the plantings. But the natives have no conception of fertilizers, and any suggestion made in this connection is regarded by them /309/ as a waste of time. There are also mingas for weeding, and boys and even women participate. In about six months the dry and yellow leaves are stripped from the stalks, a task which they call descalzar /to discalceate/; they believe that this makes the tender leaves acquire a dark-green color and the ears grow
[824] strong. The stripped leaves are used to cover the roofs of the ranchos which are built for watching over the plantings and to house the family at harvest time.

243 The fields are attacked by flocks of parrots and chamones
825 /a kind of bird/; they are driven away with scarecrows (kanasá), which are put in strategic places. Squirrels and dogs are also enemies of maize, and to protect it they build traps or use their shotguns. In addition, the women and children constantly go around the fields. Next to the rancho a high platform is often built, from which the integrity of the plantings can be guarded.

243 The natives know that droughts parch the sown ground and
789 an exaggerated winter injures them. When the leaves are scorched
754 and the plant does not make ears, they think then that envious people (the sorcerers) have cast a spell on the maize. In such cases, they call the good curer (té eu) to lift the spell. Protection thus has a magical character (13).

13. Bernal Villa, S. "Magia of Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 245.

/309 cont./

685 The natives do not steal maize. If they need some, they
243 buy it from their neighbor. Such transactions are made at very
[432] low prices. If someone refuses to sell, that is to say, "is stingy
[623] with maize," the buyer threatens to rob him, although he never
[692] does it if he is a good person, but will if he is bad (sorcerer). Such thefts are punished by the cabildo.

243 When the ear of maize is filled out and tender (choclo /a
[789] roasting ear/) consumption begins, after the performance of magical practices if the produce is from a new clearing (14).

14. Ibid., p. 246.

Consumption begins at the outer part and all around the field, leaving the central part to turn into dry maize. If someone picks maize from just any part, people comment acidly that he "eats like a dog." The harvesting of the maize is done in one or two days. Relatives and friends are invited to help
[476] and are rewarded with approximately one arroba. The same
[465] amount is also given to those who helped disinterestedly with the clearing and sowing.

243 /310/ An informant from Mosoco says that it is customary
431 among the natives to present relatives and friends with a "carrera" /stretch, row/ of each harvest. Those of wheat and barley are excepted. The carrera consists in harvesting all the "matas" /bushes, sprigs/ that remain around the plantings, since, as we have seen, the harvesting is done from the periphery to the center. The beneficiaries in turn do the same, so that the amounts received are reciprocally returned. This favor to relatives and friends carries with it implicit factors of understanding and affection, for not all receive this manifestation of esteem.
243 The same informant says that the consumption of roasting ears
574 begins with what is called "cura de la labranza" /treatment of the field/, which consists of the following: The owner invites his relatives and friends to a kind of banquet with an abundance of tender-maize cakes /bollos/ or tamales /envueltos/, chicken, and other select dishes.

The

/312 cont./

244 pluviometrical system in this region is relatively high, and the
[134] soils are saturated with moisture. As a result, this method of making the beds pursues a protective aim for the seeds and fruits. Each bed is raised by a thickness of 60 centimeters, with a distance of one meter between one and the next. The formation of the beds has two stages: the molding /moldeada/ and the raising /alzada/. The former consists of lifting the grass covering and folding it over itself, following the capricious undulations of the ground. It is left like this for several weeks, while the grass completely rots away. This is the only fertilizer. Then comes the planting and after this the raising, an operation which consists of covering the molding with the crumbled earth taken from the part where the grass cover was lifted. In this fashion, the beds have abundant soil in which the roots can grow. The planting does not require any weeding.

In the region that the people of Mosoco call "paramo,"
[243] potatoes are planted without order or rows of any sort. In Moras-Mosoco, as in San José, Lame, Tumbichukue, and Vitoncó, two rows of maize are planted at the edge of the beds and within them the potatoes, very close together and without any sort of order. Frijoles, broad beans, peas, or cabbages are also planted
[243] there. Cultivation is multiple and thus exhaustive. After this harvest, wheat is sown, and then the land is left to lie fallow for three or four years, after which the process is repeated. Naturally, these collective sowings rapidly exhaust the soils. Hence, the May and June sowings yield poorly and usually are lost.

The work is done by the members of the family. Mingas
[476] are still in force as a system of collective labor. They are usually
[464] attended by consanguineous and political familiars. Contract labor is common with Guambiano natives. Mosoco day-laborers are not encountered.

The potato harvest is selected into three classes: large, seed, and birucha. The first serves exclusively for the market, while
000 the last is for family consumption. /In the original text, the following tables for Mosoco, Lame, and San Andres, with the observations deduced from them, appear on two sheets inserted between pages 312 and 313./

/328 cont./

388 43 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.

388 [373] [796] The Indians go on using it to make candles for household consumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

/329/

Mingas

476 461 [464] The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 554 [231] Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 241 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/329 cont./

476 241 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 461 241 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.

476 241 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to [782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether [273] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they re- [535] ceive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often [578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 435 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with 15 laborers costs the following:

/330 cont./

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435

1 bull	$40.00
1 1/2 arrobas of maize	1.50
2 pounds of coca	3.00
3 loads of chicha	6.00
Total	$50.00

The prices cited above prevail only among the natives. Among the "whites" an arroba of maize costs $6.00, a pound of coca $3.00, the cattle $25.00 per arroba, and chicha has a higher value. In the expenses of the minga there is no mention of the cost of aguardiente, frijoles, arracacha, and plantains, which are usually mixed with the mote. It should be noted that the articles listed are produced on the same finca, with the exception of the coca, which has to be purchased. In San Andrés the mingas consist of six to ten laborers more or less, usually relatives. Mote, stew with plantains, manioc, arracacha, pork, chicha, and coca are served. No cattle are killed, and there is no dancing after the work. The costs of the minga are as follows:

1 pig	$35.00
1 trough of chicha	2.00
1 arroba of maize	1.50
1 pound of coca	1.00
3 pounds of salt	0.60
/331/ 3 pounds of frijoles	0.60
2 arrobas of manioc	1.00
2 bunches of plantains	2.00
Total	$43.70

476 In Lame the chicha is purchased in Suin and Chinas, as is the coca. They commonly kill a pig.

In Mosoco we had the opportunity to observe a minga for the raising of the seed beds. There were three women, one boy, and five men. They were relatives. They had eaten at seven
461 in the morning. They worked in a group without distinction as
476 to sex or age, talking and laughing. Only the older ones, who usually chew coca, worked in silence, for talk produces

/331 cont./

461 insalivation, which disturbs the normal consumption of coca.
476 They worked steadily until 10:00 A.M., when they took a short rest. Then they went on working until 1:00 P.M., when they were served "refreshments," consisting of a cup of coffee and two large maize griddlecakes /arepas/ seasoned with salt and two eggs, which had been toasted on a piece of earthenware and finished by roasting in the hot ashes of the hearth. They went on working until 3:30 P.M. and then went to the house of the minguero. The reward usually consists of the following:

476 Two bowls of chicha; then a large platter with mote, stew
465 with potatoes or ullucos. They eat what they can and put the rest in an aluminum pan which they brought for this purpose, or they simply put it in a fique knapsack to take it to their respective homes. After this, they receive still another bowl of mote without meat. Then, once more, two bowls of chicha and, following this, a large pot overflowing with chicha to be distributed among those present. This is done for each of the persons in-
[273] vited. The consumption of chicha is thus abundant. After this they are given aguardiente. Already drunk, they organize a dance. All this, of course, among the natives of means. Among the poor, the mingas are usually made up of relatives, who "conceal the scarcity." No dancing is done.

476 In the mingas of Mosoco, they sacrifice bulls, calves, or pigs, and they always purchase one or two pounds of coffee and two or three arrobas of panela. From their own finca they consume wheat or maize flour, potatoes, ullucos, or broad beans.
[461] Coca has been replaced by "refreshments." During the work there
[276] are periods of rest that /332/ correspond roughly to taking a chew of coca in other parcialidades. The young people of Mosoco do not chew coca, but the old custom still influences the work. On the other hand, it is obvious that a minga in Mosoco is more expensive than paying wages, since various articles are purchased, and, in addition, they sacrifice cows or pigs worth more than 100
[464] pesos. But the mingas are indispensable in Mosoco as a means of obtaining labor which otherwise would be impossible to get. No one signs up for wages, because everyone has his own lands to work.

/332 cont./

476 184 From the data on the mingas in the three parcialidades, we see that on the whole they have similar rules. But in Mosoco there is already a modified procedure, both in the rewards and in the form of the work. In San Andrés, Calderas, and Lame, a minga is relatively cheaper than paying wages, since they actually buy only salt and coca, when they do not cultivate it on their own fincas.

Communal tasks

476 651 Among the Páez there is another type of co-operative labor different from the system of the mingas. It might be called communal work, and it pertains basically to the execution of tasks for the common welfare, such as, for example, the construction and maintenance of the roads, bridges, public buildings (schools, church, rectory, house of the cabildo) and the cultivation of the clearing of the saint.

To this end, the cabildo calls upon all the able-bodied men in the parcialidad, who come supplied with their respective rations of coca and work tools.

The execution of the works of communal interest is a duty of every member of the parcialidad, and anyone who refuses to lend his aid is punished by the cabildo and often taken before the Colombian authorities. The greater or lesser effectiveness of this obligation naturally depends on the moral authority of the members of the cabildo and, above all, of the Capitán of the parcialidad. In many parcialidades, the members openly refuse to give their share of labor, and in such cases the roads and public buildings are in precarious condition.

/333/

Foresight and storage

447 353 251 In all of the native dwellings there are frames plaited with rods and vines above the hearth and also at what we might call the open ceiling. The ones of the fireplace are suspended, while the others rest on the braces or crosspieces that give strength to the walls of the house. This already clearly indicates to us that the natives have foresight. On these frames there are ears of maize tied by their own husks, bundles of wheat, and

/336 cont./

428 together. The land does not belong to the cabildo. Women do not inherit. Only the men. The women go with their husbands. Among the men it is divided into equal shares. The /337/ sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving sons, [593] his brother inherits. A brother can be asked for a piece of land to [423] work. And he gives it. If we are niggardly about it, what will [425] my brother eat, how will he support his children. The eldest son is important, because if the father dies, it is he who takes charge of the family."

The words are nearly all textual. One may deduce from them that inheritance is carried out through the male line. It is the men who inherit the land, houses, and animals, in equal shares. The women virtually do not inherit, since, when they marry, they go with the husband. The sons are the legitimate heirs. If a man dies without leaving progeny, his brothers inherit.

423 The women, nevertheless, can also be heirs and in equal
428 shares with the men, if the husband has no land to work. Cases
[591] are not frequent, but neither are they rare, when the man goes to live in his wife's home, where he remains and works the land
[563] which belongs to him through his wife's right. Likewise some "whites" who managed to marry natives have the right of usufruct over the lands of their wives, and the latter demand land to work from the cabildo if they do not possess any.

423 Another Calderun informant, one of the major owners of
428 land in extensity wishes to leave it to his sons without dividing it. Since there is enough land, there is no reason for them to quarrel. Since two of his sons went to Cali when they were small, he says that if they should return there is land for them to work.
423 The lands are solely for the men; the women marry and go with the husband. Referring to the llano of Calderas, he says that it belongs to all of the members of the community. They may build their houses there, while those from other parcialidades
[342] have no right to do so. If a member builds a house on the com-
[476] munal llano, all the others are obliged to help him with timber and labor. Even the women. The land is communal because the cabildo has decided upon it. Some have plots on this

/355 cont./

443 of the municipio and even from Calderas flock to the market
438 in Belalcázar. Itinerant peddlers are numerous in Tierradentro,
439 and several of them walk through the parcialidades offering their wares. The articles that they sell are few. Traders also travel through the parcialidades, chiefly to acquire cattle that bring them handsome profits. But there are also those who go from
439 house to house to buy agricultural produce. A trader from
426 Mosoco, mestizo, bilingual, boasts of his friendship with the natives and of the trips that he took, up to about four years ago, through Suin, Chinas, Calderas, Avirama, and Lame, distributing ("showering") advance money for maize, frijoles, laurel wax, saffron, and cattle. "A debt with Indians is never lost," he states categorically, to emphasize the Indians' honesty. At harvest time he returned to collect the products bought and he took them directly to Silvia. He also says that from San Andrés he took from 100 to 200 arrobas of panela each month to sell in Mosoco. Lately, owing to the impassable condition of the Inzá roads, he has given up this business.

443 The parcialidad of Mosoco, and in general the entire
438 hydrographic valley of the Moras River, which contains the
439 parcialidades of San José, Mosoco, Vitoncó, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, trades with the municipio /356/ of Silvia, located on the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agricultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley, peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs, and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of woolen rebozos (rebosos de Castilla), showy necklaces, gold earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for their trousers, and shirts.

427 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
(476) tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast to the riding paths of the municipio of Inzá. The people of

The people of
/356 cont./

43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

● 476

[Information on communal labor forces as forms of required work levies will be found in category 651.]

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [478] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family ● 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular [782] individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [273] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Domesticated animals include chickens, [177] turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, [438] and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [25] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

574 A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 431 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

342 [177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept [354] kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried [352] cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes [476] driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, [461] transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmi- [554] cally as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of [778] means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

352 The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver [415] money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house [353] he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press [354] for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, [524] and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, [283] or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bam- 404 boo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small 286 guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands 249 against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

243 In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform 342 where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

177 Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with 361 "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

491 The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and 499 flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

/187 cont./

593 and de facto (with a machete) aggression of a married son (23 years old) against his parents, and the situation calmed down when the father succeeded in disarming the aggressor.

Brothers and sisters respect each other. They avoid aggression, and when they are little they play together. The younger brothers greet the older ones, and when the latter marry, they receive, kneeling, the blessing of the former.

[241] The fruits of the harvests are shared among the brothers, just as they also mutually help one another in the arduous [476] agricultural work. According to an informant, men care more for their brothers than for their sisters, because the latter, upon marrying, leave the home. Nevertheless they show affection in their conduct with both sexes. Relations between sisters and the mother are intimate, as they live together under the same [855] roof and intermingle in performing the same work. The older ones help to bring up the younger brothers and sisters. The latter call the eldest brother and eldest sister táta and máma, names that they abandon when they have reached adulthood. [627] In case of a fight involving one of the brothers, the others go to his assistance and take vengeance if anyone has been injured, [623] but this is not an obligation. Quarrels between brothers may [892] arise over the distribution of land. In the greater number of such cases the cabildo settles the differences.

602 Relations between the families united among themselves by blood ties are intimate. They visit one another frequently and are shown painstaking treatment.

593 Mingas are organized more readily among brothers, who [476] "cover up their poverty." In the religious festivals they mutually [651] back one another and during occasional meetings they endeavor [796] to drink and eat together.

1/1 [i.e., meetings for collective work--Analyst]